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ABSTRACT

Literature on the role of women and minorities in school administration indicates that they both suffer from role stereotypes, although the stereotypes are somewhat different. Current literature on minority groups is limited almost entirely to discussion of blacks; the status of other racial minorities has been largely ignored. The role of blacks in administration has been severely limited by practices that exclude blacks from positions that involve supervision of white teachers or students. Women have been constrained by the belief that executive responsibilities conflict with the primary goal and responsibility of all women, which is to bear and raise children. Correcting the current situation will require the public schools to make an institutional commitment to the implementation of new hiring practices. Discrimination against minorities and women in school administration will cease only when sex and race are irrelevant in hiring and promotion. (Author/JG)

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CONTENTS

Foreword	v
Introduction	1
Quality Education and Effective Administration	1
A Restricted Definition of "Minorities"	2
The Black Administrator: Still Segregated	4
In the South: Disappearance	4
In the North: Continued Segregation	6
The Woman Administrator	10
Where Is She?	10
A Woman's Place . . .	11
Can a Woman Succeed?	14
The Obstacle of Negative Attitudes	15
Some Practical Problems	16
A Basis for Comparison	18
A Program for Change	20
Conclusion	23
Bibliography	24

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FOREWORD

With the *School Leadership Digest* series, the National Association of Elementary School Principals adds another project to its continuing program of publications designed to offer school leaders essential information on a wide range of critical concerns in education.

The *School Leadership Digest* is a series of monthly reports on top priority issues in education. At a time when decisions in education must be made on the basis of increasingly complex information, the *Digest* provides school administrators with concise, readable analyses of the most important trends in schools today, as well as points up the practical implications of major research findings.

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INTRODUCTION

Almost anyone who remembers "school days" has two images of school officials. The favorite teacher, in fact nearly every teacher, was probably a woman. But the feared and revered final authority, the principal, especially in high school, is likely to have been a man. When the memory then turns to the race of the principal, the pattern of the white, male school administrator begins to emerge.

Quality Education and Effective Administration

Today, the subject of women and minorities in public school administration seems so closely linked to the Women's and Civil Rights movements that it is merely "topical." Such a judgment is inadequate and superficial, however. The extent to which women and minorities participate in administering the schools is one measure of education's real commitment to the ideal of equal opportunity for all Americans.

In addition, if sexual or racial characteristics are more important than ability in determining who is hired for positions of power and responsibility in the schools, the caliber of public education will suffer. The question then becomes one of quality education, and surely *that* is always important, is beyond political dispute, and is genuinely timely, never merely "topical."

Staffing policies may be as important to the educational process as curriculum. The best policy decisions will come from administrations that include a variety of points of view. Women or members of minority groups may have unique perspectives on certain problems, perspectives that can broaden and enrich the decision-making process at every level. In fact, a diverse staff may even help shape more desirable curriculums. For example, women may be able to detect sexism in study materials, just as nonwhites can detect racism.

Schools educate children not only by what is taught in the classroom, but also by what is shown about how the world operates. For this reason, too, the identity of administrators is important in determining how schools socialize their students. When there is someone in authority "like" a child, that person may become a role model, a figure for the child to admire and emulate. Thus school officials can teach children appropriate behavior and help shape their aspirations and attitudes.

Children may come to feel that it is normal for the kinds of people they see running the schools to fill all executive positions. Black children who see only whites in authority may conclude that blacks are excluded from power, that it is futile for them to strive for decision-making positions. Similarly, girls who see women only as teachers, taking orders from male principals, may become convinced that this is natural and inevitable, that the most they can hope for in life are positions subordinate to men. By thus teaching some children not to strive for their highest human potentials, the schools are encouraging the waste of human resources. Surely this is a perverse and destructive form of "education."

A Restricted Definition of "Minorities"

In the literature on school administrators, "minority" is virtually synonymous with "black." This fact alone defines the status of Chicanos, Native Americans, and all other racial minority groups, who are denied even a token consideration. (What is said about indifference being the most vicious form of discrimination?)

This report reflects this situation, ignoring the status of all nonblack racial minorities in school administration, not because the subject does not demand attention, but because most writers tacitly assume, by their omissions, that it is simply not worth considering. There is an urgent need for studies that will correct this imbalance.

This report, then, will be limited to discussing blacks and women. It is tempting to think that, since both groups suffer

from discrimination, being judged according to group roles rather than individual performances, they can be considered together. But discrimination is as complex and subtle as it is pervasive; what is true for blacks is not necessarily true for members of other racial minorities and may have nothing to do with women. For this reason, women and blacks will be discussed separately.

The literature on black administrators seems to be more straightforward and easily comprehensible than that on women, perhaps because racial discrimination is now more generally understood than sexual discrimination. An early discussion of the patterns of discrimination against blacks should provide a context within which the more complex literature on women can be understood. Finally, when both groups have been discussed, it becomes logical to consider possible solutions for this debilitating phenomenon.

THE BLACK ADMINISTRATOR: STILL SEGREGATED

"Common sense" suggests that the apparent successes of the Civil Rights and Women's movements should have significantly improved the positions of blacks and women in educational administration. In this view, blacks, for example, were once the victims of systematic patterns of discrimination, but this began to change with the rise of the Civil Rights Movement. Now, 20 years after the Supreme Court's historic desegregation ruling in the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka,* individuals may still be prejudiced, but, in public institutions like school systems, the black educator is treated in the same way as everyone else.

This analysis is attractive because it is both plausible and optimistic. It implies that the situation is under control and that desirable changes are taking place. Unfortunately, such optimism can only flourish amidst ignorance. Since *Brown,* the number of black administrators has declined dramatically. This is most true of the decision-making positions, where the real power is increasingly in the hands of white males.

In the South: Disappearance

Historically, the southern pattern of "separate but equal" school systems tended to help the black administrator. The logic of segregation dictates the complete separation of the races. This can be accomplished only if black school systems are entirely black—teachers, students, superintendents, and principals. In addition, in a society in which racism is an institutionalized value, a principalship of a black school or superintendency of a black system could not seem very desirable to most whites. This fact, too, would help blacks become administrators, if only by default. The motivation may not have been commendable, but the result was that, in

dual school systems, there were countless opportunities for black administrators.

This situation did not change immediately after the Supreme Court outlawed "separate but equal" systems, but once it became clear to the states that the decision could not be circumvented, the dual school systems were gradually dismantled. This dramatically altered the status of the black administrator. Blacks supervising other blacks may have been acceptable in the South, but the possibility of black officials giving orders to white teachers and overseeing the education of white students was virtually unthinkable.

The disappearance of the black administrator, though the Court could hardly have anticipated it, has clearly come about as the result of southern compliance with the *Brown* decision. Some of these changes are summarized in a publication of the National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity (NCRIEEO).

- In Texas, the number of black principals decreased by 600 between 1964 and 1970
- In Virginia, the number of black secondary school principals fell from 107 in 1964 to 16 in 1970
- In Delaware, the number of black principals fell from 50 in 1964 to 16 in 1970
- In West Virginia, there were 271 black professionals in 1954, 71 in 1970
- In Kentucky, there were 350 black principals in 1954; by 1970, there were only 36
- In Alabama, the number of black secondary school principals fell from 134 in 1964 to 14 in 1970.

Coffin indicates that these figures are merely typical:

> **These widely reported figures indicate that the number of black high school principals in 13 southern and border states dropped more than 90 percent during the 1960s. If casualties among black elementary school principals were included, the result would be even worse.**

Thus people who were qualified by training and experience to administer the new unified school systems were prevented from doing so because of their race. Obviously, many of the dismissed blacks were replaced by people less qualified, except for the vital racial criterion, to run the schools. The loss of expertise and resulting decline in educational quality are incalculable.

More than quality education disappeared with the black principal. In the Old South, educational administration was one of the few vocations in which a black could achieve affluence, power, and middle-class respectability, and this opportunity vanished. In addition, a black principal was often the most prominent black citizen, a community leader. As NCRIEEO comments, "The Black principal is the Highest Public Official. To downgrade him is to downgrade the Black community." Finally, for black children, the black educator was often the only available role model that suggested it was possible for a black to exercise authority or leadership, and this, too, was lost.

This loss of administrative ability and community leadership was nearly absolute, since the talents of displaced blacks were almost always discarded by the school systems. According to James, a black principal might be transferred to the central office of a district as "the highly visible token of desegregation," or, worse, given "some other title completely foreign to all known educational terminology, a desk, a secretary, no specified responsibilities or authority, with a quiet prayer that he will somehow just go away." Doubtless any black administrator with ambition or self-respect would himself echo that quiet prayer.

In the North: Continued Segregation

Until recently, job prospects for a black administrator in the North were dim, with the fewest opportunities in the highest positions. In a 1964 article, Smith recalled the words of a college advisor:

> As far as I know, outside of the eleven Southern states, there is only one Negro superintendent of schools in the United States.

> He is in Lincoln Heights, an Ohio community of about 8,000 persons of whom 98 per cent are Negro. You can consider yourself lucky if you get a principalship in a large city. . . . Your leadership ability has been commended internationally, you are academically well prepared, and you are a successful teacher, but you are a Negro!"

At the level of the principalship, the situation was equally gloomy. For example, in Newark, New Jersey, with an overwhelmingly black enrollment in its school system, there was not a single black principal until 1967.

As the legal system of segregation in the South has broken down, it has been replaced by urban segregation based on residential patterns. The white, male decision-makers in many of these systems have, like their southern predecessors, decided that these all-black schools are appropriate places for black administrators.

Black officials at all levels share a number of problems: difficult schools, ambiguous roles, and the unrealistic expectations of others. Chapman found these problems among black principals in "Spring City," an unspecified urban school district. As the black enrollment in the school system increased, local pressure groups were able to force the district to hire black administrators. However, it soon became clear that those blacks were being assigned almost entirely to the city's predominantly black schools.

Chapman also reported on a study comparing what others expected of these black principals with what the principals expected of themselves. The evidence was that high administrators and most people in the black community expected the new principals to make a far greater difference in the schools than the principals themselves anticipated making. Thus the new black officials were placed in difficult situations to begin with and then confronted with the unreasonable expectations of others. In such a situation, someone is bound to be disappointed, and the principal's relative or "perceived" failure seems virtually inevitable.

The ambiguous role assigned to the black administrator is best illustrated by Frelow's analysis of the plight of a typical

black administrator below the rank of principal. The primary assignment for the new official was to serve as liaison to dissident black students in a school with a biracial enrollment and a primarily white staff. He was successful in this assignment but was not rewarded for his professional skill. Instead, it became clear that, by dealing with a specific group of students, he had provided his superiors with "a rationale for his exclusion from decisions that affect the whole system. He has, in effect, defined a peripheral involvement for himself." This kind of doublethink, which can turn success into failure, is typical of the way white supervisors treat black administrators.

This problem illustrates the need for blacks in the highest decision-making positions in school systems. Until blacks enter the real power positions, the role of all black administrators will remain peripheral. But the evidence that this has not yet happened is overwhelming. Frelow says "only in a few instances have school districts chosen to employ blacks in decision-making, policy-influencing positions."

A California State Department of Education report found statistical evidence that minority administrators were generally assigned only to schools in which their groups predominated. The report concluded that there were "very few minority group members . . . employed at the highest level in the Central Offices." Frelow even speculates that the selection of a black superintendent may be considered undesirable because such an appointment might imply to nervous white parents that the district is "going black."

Some blacks have become superintendents outside the South, but the belief that blacks are capable only of supervising black districts remains as strong as ever. Moody examined 21 major school systems with black superintendents, 17 regular and 4 acting. In each of these systems, the majority of the students were black, and every permanent superintendent worked in a community where more than half the residents were black. In addition, most of the districts had black majorities on their school boards.

Moody discovered several other facts about these districts that may explain why they were considered suitable for black

superintendents. Virtually all the superintendents he studied had taken over districts with serious financial problems. From the evidence, he concludes that "when blacks are appointed it is often just because the district is unattractive." In addition, "black superintendents are not appointed in districts which provide them with the time and resources to develop educational programs relevant to their school community." Yet, in spite of these problems, the superintendents all seemed to agree that the most difficult thing about the job was obtaining it in the first place.

The shortage of blacks in power positions in school administration is unfortunate, but, if it is to be changed, more than promotion policies will require alteration. Rouse discovered what he called a "black plateau" at the principalship. Qualified and ambitious blacks aspire to be principal, but most blacks think it is futile to hope for any higher positions. With few blacks seeking these positions, even fewer will attain them.

It seems that nothing has really changed. The location of the all-black school systems may have moved from the South to the cities, but these remain the only systems with room for black administrators. A black educator's chance of being appointed superintendent in a "white" district is probably not much greater now than it was when Smith's counselor offered him such discouraging advice in 1964.

THE WOMAN ADMINISTRATOR

The successes of the Women's Movement seem to justify the "common sense" notion that discrimination against women in school administration is not serious and is rapidly disappearing. In fact, such optimism is as false for women as it is for blacks. The central facts about women administrators are that there aren't many of them, and that the women in the schools are not employed in executive capacities.

Where Is She?

The statistics provide compelling evidence of this. A survey, "Professional Women in Public Schools, 1970-71," reports that, while two-thirds of all teachers are women, 85 percent of the principals are men. In elementary schools, where 85 percent of the teachers are women, 79 percent of the principals are men. At the secondary level, half the teachers, but only 3 percent of the principals, are women. Of all women working full-time in public schools, almost 96 percent are teachers, nurses, or librarians. A man employed in elementary or secondary education is roughly 20 times more likely than a woman to be a principal or assistant principal. Finally, of the women who *are* principals, 95 percent work in elementary schools.

The significance of these figures can be seen only by comparing the present with the past. In 1928, 55 percent of all school principals were women. In 1948, the percentage had dropped to 41, in 1958 it was 38, and by 1968 it was only 22. In addition, according to a more recent National Educational Association (NEA) study cited in *Behavior Today*, in the last two years the number of women high school principals has shrunk by half, from 3 percent to 1.5 percent of the total.

In addition, Johnson notes that women principals are older and more experienced than men. She also observes that, while the number of women principals declined by 16 percent

between 1958 and 1968, the median age of women in that position rose from 52 to 56, while that of men stayed fairly constant at around 44. Finally, she remarks, "I heard over and over the report of many members that upon retirement as principals their vacancy had been filled by a young man, occasionally the winning high school coach!"

This pattern of discrimination extends to the pay women get. Taylor reports that the average salary for women administrators is $5,000 lower than that for men. In fact, 37 percent of the men but only 16 percent of the women earn more than $15,000. This suggests that the situation for women is even worse at the higher levels of administration. As Taylor observes, "The higher an administrative position is in responsibility, prestige, and salary, the less likely it is to be held by a woman."

It is not surprising to discover that women are most severely underrepresented at the top job, the superintendency. The NEA reports that 99.4 percent of all superintendents are men. As Funderburk notes, "Only when top public school positions are elective rather than appointive do women educators stand a chance to hold a high administrative job." In support of this claim, he notes that in 1950, six states had female school superintendents. As five of these jobs became appointive, each woman was replaced by a man.

In summary, these figures indicate that few women work as school administrators, that the jobs women get are the lowest ranking ones, that the women who get the jobs are older than men working at comparable levels, and that the situation is getting worse all the time. There seems to be an unwritten policy that women always be assigned "women's work" instead of executive responsibilities.

A Woman's Place . . .

No single explanation can account for such widespread discrimination, but one important factor is the general acceptance of stereotypes about working women in general and women in administration in particular. At the heart of all

such stereotypes is a single notion, that a woman's place is in the home, in the completely fulfilling full-time role of motherhood, the natural state of all women. It is thus appropriate for a woman to teach a small child, a "motherly" task, but to supervise teachers requires the executive skill that can come only with a "man's touch."

Anyone with such beliefs can find specific reasons for excluding women from virtually any job. Krohn describes how the process can work:

> Instead of looking at women administrators as individuals, the system draws the same conclusions about all women: that their home responsibilities keep them from doing well in administration, that they don't want demanding jobs, that they are too emotional, that they have to stop work to have babies (the reason actually given for denying a Catholic nun entrance to a college program).

Such attitudes seem to form very early in potential decision-makers. Mickish cites a 1966 study of the attitudes of graduate students in education toward the abilities of women as administrators. The students indicated an overwhelming preference for men as principals. Mickish quotes from the report's conclusion:

> Most of the students questioned described male principals as being more democratic, more sympathetic, more understanding, more pleasant, more congenial, more relaxed, and more personally interested in their teachers. They further claimed that the men are not as critical, allow more freedom to teachers, do not supervise as much, do not get excited as easily, and can be approached and influenced more easily. An equal number of students pictured women principals as being too autocratic, too demanding, too critical, too particular, too moody, too emotional, and too "nosy." Moreover, they criticized the women for giving too much concern to petty matters, for supervising too much and for being too deeply involved in their work.

These findings are particularly significant since the graduate students who shared these beliefs were, in effect, being trained to run school systems, and eventually many of them will be in positions to act on these beliefs, doubtless through hiring policies systematically favoring men.

A number of studies have been made to determine whether there is any factual basis for such attitudes. Virtually every evaluation of the comparative performances of women and men as principals has shown the complete inaccuracy of such stereotypes. In 1956, Hines and Grobman reported on a survey in which women scored better than men in evaluations based on student morale, teacher morale, frequency with which teachers used desirable practices, and program development. Meskin, after surveying all the studies, concludes:

> When we highlight some of the specific findings concerning women administrators in these studies—their propensity toward democratic leadership, thoroughness of approach to problem solving, and bent toward instructional leadership, as well as the general effectiveness of their performance as rated by both teachers and superiors—we puzzle over the small number of women administrators employed by school districts. . . .

It is interesting that several surveys found that men who had never worked under a woman principal were generally unfavorable to the idea. However, men who actually had such experience expressed a preference for women as principals.

It should also be noted that all the studies Meskin discusses were made before 1965. But the survey of graduate student attitudes Mickish describes was made in 1966. At the very least, this suggests that graduate schools are so indifferent to the abilities of women administrators that these findings were not considered significant enough to require that students be familiar with them. By this tacit rejection of compelling evidence that women make good principals, the graduate schools are clearly not doing their job, preparing their students to shape the best possible policies for the schools.

According to Hoyle, women may make better principals than men because of their longer teaching experience as well as their greater potential empathy with other women who still fill most teaching jobs. Mickish concurs, saying that the higher ratings given women principals "can be explained by the fact that women are teachers for a longer period, have greater self-confidence in their ability to direct instruction, and are more deeply committed to their positions.

What these facts actually indicate is that a woman must be better qualified than a man if she hopes to become a successful school administrator. In view of the difficulties she will face, she *has* to be extraordinary. She is confronted with different expectations than a man faces, and her actions are judged by different standards. Friedan and West cite an attitude survey that solicits a response to the following statement, which suggests some of these differences:

> They may act exactly the same way, but they are called: *absent-minded* if they are men, *scatter-brained* if they are women; *intellectually curious* if they are men, *nosey* if they are women; *planners* if they are men, *schemers* if they are women; *sensitive* if they are men, *emotional* if they are women; *logical* if they are men, *intuitive* if they are women.

According to Dale, women in administration are treated differently than equally qualified men in comparable positions. Superiors hold certain tacit assumptions about women that make it difficult for them to advance. For example, it is simply assumed that a young woman will not be able to accept a new job if it means relocating her family. In a comparable situation, it would be assumed that a man would be free to move.

This is one way in which women are faced with performance expectations that become self-fulfilling prophecies. Professionals tend to be either job-oriented, finding satisfaction in careers, or place-oriented, finding satisfaction in friendships and activities in a specific location. If a professional woman is not offered promotions, if her job seems to be leading nowhere, she may become place-oriented relatively early in her career. Once this has happened, if a promotion finally *is* offered, it would be undesirable if it meant relocating. The woman professional might then refuse to move, "demonstrating" her "lack" of both mobility and ambition.

The Obstacle of Negative Attitudes

Another important factor in job success is the attitude a superior has toward a new person working in his department. A supervisor naturally assumes that any man hired for a job is competent or he wouldn't have been hired at all. Even if he is unsuccessful, the results may be blamed, not on professional inadequacy, but on an "impossible situation." But if the same superior has misgivings about the ability of women, he will expect a new woman to fail and may even unconsciously look for signs of that failure. In addition, if his commitment to her success is minimal, he may deny her any significant support. In such circumstances, the woman's chances of at least a perceived failure are thus very great. Not surprisingly, this may eventually cause her to lose self-confidence, to become disoriented on the job, and, finally, to perform according to the expectations the superior has done so much, albeit unconsciously, to confirm.

In addition, in this society women are socialized to accept subordinate roles. Barter found that 45.8 percent of the men in elementary education and only 7.8 percent of the women were definitely interested in the principalship as a career. Even among administrators, Schmuck found that "women, regardless of their marital or familial status, have more self-doubts and lack of confidence about their abilities to perform in managerial positions; women are reluctant to aspire to or accept positions of responsibility and influence." She continues: "Female reluctance about administrative abilities is best illustrated by the fact that almost half of the women I interviewed had been persuaded to take their jobs by male supervisors."

Schmuck also describes some of the ways a teacher can be gradually prepared for an administrative position. A supervisor may delegate various responsibilities to the teacher, with the tacit understanding that promotion will eventually result if the duties are handled well. A supervisor who believes that men make better administrators than women will not be anxious to offer such promotional opportunities to women.

Consequently, more men will be in positions to be promoted, and those who are promoted will be, by virtue of their informal training, more likely to succeed immediately in their new jobs.

There seem to be other, even more informal ways in which men, rather than women, are able to advance up the administrative ladder. One woman Schmuck interviewed commented:

> I am upwardly mobile but here come the roadblocks. Men naturally flock together. They golf together and swim together so they get to know one another. Men who are in low positions striving upward golf and swim with the guys in power to decide. Those avenues are closed to me. These are the way roles get filled—even before they are advertised, someone suggests a bright young man. I won't be known in the district. No one will communicate to others that I am interested in a position and by the time announcements are made it may be too late.

Some supervisors also feel that a kind of locker-room camaraderie is essential to the proper functioning of an administrative "team." Whether or not this has any basis in fact, if a man *thinks* it is important, he will be reluctant to hire a woman who might not work well with "the boys."

It must have been such a feeling that led Phi Delta Kappa, the prestigious national educational fraternity, to exclude women from membership until very recently. This led to a supreme irony: an entire issue of *Phi Delta Kappan,* the journal of the organization, was devoted to women in education, while women were excluded from the organization itself. This, too, supports Schmuck's conclusion that "women are denied access to the main avenues of socialization into the profession by the predominance of men as administrative role-models and by the informal friendships and connections between men in power."

Some Practical Problems

Overt discrimination is not the only cause of the recent decline of the number of women in administration. The recent trend toward consolidation of schools has meant that

fewer positions are available. According to a study cited in *Behavior Today*, consolidation has been responsible for the closing of nearly 60,000 schools, many of them small, rural, and headed by women.

Another problem for women has been the recent effort to attract more men into education, especially at the elementary level, supposedly to prevent the "feminization" of the schools. To attract men into the field, it was considered necessary to offer them the incentive of possible advancement. Men entering education thus compete with women for administrative positions; supposedly, the men *must* be promoted or they will leave the field, so their promotions often come at the expense of qualified women.

One result of this is that male principals have less specific teaching experience than do women and serve for a shorter period, because they are actually upwardly mobile. This situation is particularly unfortunate since it prevents women from becoming principals and substitutes less-committed men.

Thus in more than just a few principalships, we find a "bright young man" on the way up, who temporarily serves as principal. His primary concern is not to do the job well so much as to use it as an avenue for promotion. The seriousness of this problem is articulated by Seawell and Canady: "The elementary school principalship today demands those individuals who have a particular ability and natural talent for the principalship and who desire to make it their lifetime career."

If there are factors other than discrimination responsible for the exclusion of women from administrative positions, the basic problem is still the secondary role women are assigned in all parts of society. Why else should it be women who are displaced by the closing of small schools? Similarly, why else should the opportunity for promotion be essential to the male educator, even when it limits the opportunities for qualified women?

A BASIS FOR COMPARISON

The facts make it clear that both women and blacks suffer discrimination in public school administration. The question remains whether one kind of discrimination is more serious than the other, or whether the two types are really separate but equal.

The facts suggest that the situation is more serious for women. The status of blacks, outside the South, has been improving for several years, while there are few signs that the status of women is not still deteriorating. More generally, the Civil Rights Movement has been part of the national consciousness for nearly two decades, long enough to be treated with respect, while the current activism of the Women's Movement is relatively much more recent, and "women's lib" is still a subject for satire. In addition, there are no all-female public systems for which women are considered appropriate administrators.

These intuitive observations are supported by some more direct evidence. Green quotes Shirley Chisholm's comments on race and sex as a barrier to advancement in politics:

> During my entire political life, my sex has been a far greater handicap than my skin pigmentation. From my earliest experience in Ward political activity my chief obstacle was that I had to break through the role men assign women.

She summarizes these roles by saying that "the men made the policy and the women made the peanut butter sandwiches."

One study explored the relative disadvantages of being a woman or a nonwhite who seeks to advance in school administration. The results of that study of the public school system in Berkeley, California, are described by Lawton:

> Data suggest that while black, white, and Oriental desegregation is proceeding rapidly, females are the victims of increasing discrimination. Also, there appears to be a race-by-sex interaction affecting promotion policies which has worked to the advantage of black female administrators.

Lawton asserts that the persons who controlled the school systems and made the hiring decisions were always white males. They seemed to feel that anyone not like them could be assigned to the group "other":

> Unconsciously, approximately 35 to 40% of all positions have been set aside to be shared among these others. In 1930, they consisted of a single group: white women. However, in the 1960s, when it became necessary to racially integrate the system, white males protected their own positions by placing blacks and Orientals in positions that white women—not white men—would otherwise have held.

Thus the power structure has created a situation where "others" must compete among themselves for advancement, where one group can make gains only at the expense of another. This fact illustrates well that the real problem continues to be the exclusion of women and minorities from decision-making positions. As long as the real power remains exclusively in the hands of white males, all "others" must inevitably depend on the goodwill of those in power for advancement and will, by this very fact, continue to occupy subordinate positions.

A PROGRAM FOR CHANGE

Although the only permanent solution to the problems of women and minorities in school administration is their inclusion in the decision-making process, there should be other, more immediate ways of improving the situation. Gradually, as more women and members of minority groups work into administrative positions, their acceptability in such positions will increase. In addition, if they gain some "line" positions, jobs that ordinarily lead to promotions, they will enter the pool of potential decision-makers.

One obvious way of producing change is by adopting laws and regulations. Unfortunately, specific cases of discrimination are often difficult to detect and nearly impossible to prove. For example, there are at least three federal remedies available to protect women from discrimination in school administration—The Equal Pay Act, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and Executive Order 11246. Since these policies have been adopted, the status of women in education has substantially deteriorated. Clearly, then, laws alone will not bring about meaningful change.

What is needed is a comprehensive program, not merely to prohibit discrimination, but actively to promote equality of opportunity. A number of writers have attempted to devise such a program; it is clear that the following ideas are essential to any workable solution:

- establish the hiring of women and minority administrators as a definite priority
- eliminate all forms of discriminatory treatment, such as different pay for equal work and enforced maternity leaves
- work for the establishment of a clearinghouse where the names of qualified women and minority men will be available

- establish a policy of actively recruiting women and minority men for administrative jobs
- encourage schools of education to train more women and minority men for these jobs
- work to develop internship programs for potential administrators

The first two points are self-explanatory. The need for the third policy is equally great, since one of the most serious obstacles to hiring women and minorities is finding and identifying potential administrators. An institution that systematically stores and disseminates such information would be invaluable.

Recruiting policies are similarly important. A study, "The Elusive Black Educator," found that, though potential black administrators may not be highly visible, they can be located by any organization that seeks them resourcefully. This demands aggressive recruiting, including the establishment of informal contacts in schools of education and acceptance of the occasional need to train the right person to meet the formal requirements of a position. School systems must develop ways to determine which candidates will be successful, to find them, and to hire them.

One place where potential administrative talent should be plentiful is, of course, in schools of education. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be the case if the sought-after talent happens to be black or female. "The Elusive Black Educator" quotes Dr. Donald J. Leu, dean of the San Jose State college of education:

> We recognize, now, that there is an increasing number of job opportunities for the well-educated black person. But a real holdup is that colleges and universities aren't recruiting, accepting or producing *enough* of them.

Similarly, Lyon and Saario point out that

> schools of education, specifically departments of educational administration, have not until quite recently made the commitment necessary to support the upward mobility of women students in public education.

Another useful and effective way of finding and developing administrative talent is through internship programs. At any level of administration, such programs will work in the same way. Wilson describes one project in which he participated. It was funded by a private grant and designed for the specific purpose of training nonwhite men for the superintendency. The participants, chosen for commitment to urban education, mobility, and professional potential, served five months in each of two systems, working with successful and innovative superintendents. Wilson felt that the chance to see the superintendency firsthand was invaluable for the insights it gave him into the realities of power in a school system.

Such experience not only offers the interns useful job preparation, but also gives them a chance to measure their real desire for the job in light of the actual responsibilities and pressures involved. In addition, it gives evidence of practical ability rather than abstract potential and so should promote better hiring decisions. Unfortunately, some such programs are remarkably shortsighted; the program Wilson participated in was for minority men, which apparently means that all women, including minority women, were excluded. Such a program may be combatting racism, but it is also perpetuating sexism.

Ultimately, the solution to the problem of discrimination depends on the willingness of public education to commit itself to change. Once such a commitment has been made, a specific program, based on the circumstances in each school system, should not be difficult to devise.

CONCLUSION

The status of women and minorities in school administration seems clearly inconsistent with the ideals of a democratic, egalitarian society. But discrimination in this area is not merely morally repugnant; practically it is destructive, since it narrows the base from which school leadership can be drawn.

Blacks and women alike suffer from stereotypes, but those stereotypes are not identical. The fundamental assumption that limits the role of blacks in administration is that the races should be separated. There are jobs for black administrators, but few of these jobs include supervising white teachers or students.

The primary role assigned to women remains that of the mother. According to this role stereotype, women cannot have executive responsibilities because they might conflict with the primary commitment of all women, bearing and raising children.

There are two ways in which this situation can change. The first requires a great deal of time; it demands the changing of attitudes throughout society. The second requires an institutional commitment, by public school systems, to implementing new hiring policies. Finally, though, the problem will cease only when sex or race are irrelevant in hiring, when qualified women and minorities are as routinely included in the decision-making process as white males are today.

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